



OXFORD JOURNALS
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Artists and Art Institutions in Germany 1933-1945

Author(s): Christine Fischer-Defoy and Paul Crossley

Source: *Oxford Art Journal*, 1986, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1986), pp. 16-29

Published by: Oxford University Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1360413>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



Oxford University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Oxford Art Journal*

JSTOR

Artists and Art Institutions in Germany 1933–1945

CHRISTINE FISCHER-DEFOY

1. Background history and conditions

Before examining the relationship between artists and art institutes under German fascism, I should like first to give some background information to the two institutions which I shall be discussing: the Academy and the College of Art in Berlin. Founded in 1696, their task was to train both artists and craftsmen. Although they shared a common administration until 1931, the College fulfilled a teaching function and the Academy played a purely representative role. In the nineteenth century, influenced by the Romantic concept of art as autonomous, they concentrated upon 'free' art. In 1868 a second college, the Teaching Institute of the Kunstgewerbemuseums, was founded, initially as a private school. This was officially recognised in 1885 and equipped craftsmen with skills and techniques.

In 1907 Bruno Paul, one of the founders of the Deutsche Werkbund, became director of the Teaching Institute of the Kunstgewerbemuseum. At the Academy, however, the appointment of Arthur Kampf as director in 1915 saw no change to the Wilhelminian régime which had characterised the forty-year tenure of his predecessor, the art historian Anton von Werner. After the First World War, Paul sought the reunification and synthesis of autonomous and 'applied' art and founded the 'Vereinigte Staatsschulen für freie und angewandte Kunst' (Union of National College for Free and Applied Art). In these all the workshops were available for common use, so that the students had the opportunity to move freely between the different departments. Paul explained the concept thus in 1932:

So treiben zum Beispiel Bildhauer Schrift, Musterzeichner zeichnen Akt, Architekten machen malerische Übungen und Maler (aus der freien Abteilung) nehmen teil an architektonischen Aufgaben. Die Basis für den Unterricht wird damit breiter, der Blick vielfältig auf die Praktische gelenkt.¹

The Vereinigte Staatsschulen's framework was characterised by a concept of art and teaching embodied in its director, Bruno Paul, a founder member of the German Werkbund. This was a concept which integrated the arts and craft skills from their previously separate areas (architecture, painting, sculpture, graphics) and addressed

them to the changing and changeable tasks broadly set by the community as a whole. In one of his last talks before his enforced resignation in 1932, Paul redefined the task of the artist:

Die Tätigkeit des Künstlers ist heute wieder in fast alle Gebiete des Wirtschaftslebens eingeschaltet. Vom künstlerischen Schaffens hängt ein großer Teil unseres Gewerbes und unserer Industrie ab: Hausbau, Möbelbau, Glas, Keramik, Möbel und Kleiderstoffe, Linoleum, die Gerätefabrikation bedürfen der künstlerischen Führung ebenso wie Wohn- und Geschäftshäuser, Trambahnwagen, Eisenbahnabteile, Autokarosserien.⁽²⁾

At the beginning of 1933 the faculty of the Vereinigte Staatsschulen included Karl Hofer, Oskar Schlemmer, Cesar Klein and Emil Rudolf Weiss as well as the sculptors Gies, Gerstel and Scharff. The position of Director was occupied by the painter Max Kutschmann ('already seven years a party member' as he proudly wrote in 1934), who was responsible for co-ordinating the Künstlervereine (Association of Artists), whose administration and courses were to suffer many changes of personnel and content during the next few years. On an appointed day, 1 April 1933, the German National Socialist Union of Students proclaimed themselves as the embodiment of the 'rage of the people', as they had done during the notorious burning of library books. They erected a banner in the entrance hall of the Hardenbergstrasse building, publicly denouncing Hofer, Gies, Weiss, Klein and the others as being Jewish-Marxist elements and calling for them to be boycotted. The changes in the balance of political power affected the students and their teachers in different ways as they became involved in the interplay of artistic, political and racist motives which can be inferred from the slogan 'Jewish cultural bolshevism'. The inconsistency of the measures taken during the following few months reflects the general lack of clarity in National Socialist art policies before 1937 (see below) and is characteristic of the arbitrary political repression and intimidation which occurred during the first phase of the 'conquest of power'. Several professors of art lost their jobs (including Richard Scheibe in Frankfurt) but were re-instated under the law governing Civil Service conditions which, until 1937, determined the political and racial boundaries of acceptability. During that year the requi-

site National Socialist artistic standpoint was legally clarified and enacted and their employment terminated.

A law prohibiting the 'overfilling of German schools and colleges' led to the exmatriculation of nearly ten percent of the enrolled students. This affected student representatives, those involved in leftist student organisations and the few Jewish students. Further radical artistic change and the appointment of a second wave of new personnel took place in 1937–1938. This coincided with the preparation and display of the Munich exhibition of 'entartete Kunst' (decadent art) and with the outlawing of German Expressionism which was replaced by pseudo-classical, heroic, official German art. During the Second World War the College finally abandoned all independence and submitted itself to the direction of the German propaganda ministry to fulfil propaganda tasks important to the war effort.

In 1920, Max Liebermann, one of the founders of the Secession, became president of the Akademie der Künste. Nevertheless, the Academy preserved its conservative tradition and modern artists never gained leading positions, although they were represented by Käthe Kollwitz, Karl Hofer and Otto Dix, for example. A painting — *Der Tolle Platz* (1931) — by Felix Nussbaum illustrates this: students of the Hochschule demonstrate with their paintings in front of the Academy building, which houses the old guard, while Max Liebermann stands on the roof of his collapsing establishment.

In May 1932, Liebermann resigned on grounds of age to be succeeded by the nationalist Max von Schillings. His first vice-president was Hans Poelzig. The National Socialist press denounced him as 'Kommunistenförderer und Judenfreund' (Communist supporter and friend of the Jews) and forced his resignation in January 1933. Max von Schillings was an eager advocate of NS cultural policy and forced Käthe Kollwitz and Heinrich Mann to resign their membership because they had signed a political appeal for anti-fascist unity.

The Berufsbeamtengesetz (Amendment to the Civil Service Tenure Law) was used to force Jewish Academy members to quit. In spring 1933 they were excluded from taking part in the Academy exhibition, a move followed by a radical 'cleaning up' similar to that in the Hochschule during the 'Entartete Kunst' exhibition of 1937. Among those who resigned were Hofer, Pechstein, Nolde, Barlach, Mies van der Rohe, Kirchner, Dix and Kokoschka. Until this point members of the AdK had been able to employ one of their few executive prerogatives — the award of the scholarship to the Villa Romana and the Staatspreis to be held in Rome — for the benefit of endangered artists. Following the 'Große deutsche Kunstausstellung' (Great German Art Exhibition) of 1937 in Munich the country's cultural centre became

increasingly located in that city. In 1936 the last exhibition of the Akademie der Kunst took place in Berlin. The war postponed a reorganisation of the AdK and the replacement of excluded members by new ones was put off. So, for example, Arno Breker never became a member of the AdK. In 1949 the Akademie was refounded in East Berlin under the presidency of the writer Arnold Zweig. Then in 1954 a second AdK was founded as a 'counter-measure' in West Berlin. The destiny of the AdK thus became an element in the Cold War and the division of Germany.

2. Kulturbolshevismus

If individual conformity with the political and racial qualifications imposed on the Civil Service was widely used to enforce the new system in 1933, the decisive criteria after the 'Entartete Kunst' exhibition was that of 'Kulturbolshevismus' (Cultural Bolshevism). This vaguely defined, and therefore all-embracing, slogan was used as a cultural equivalent to the term 'Marxism' in the field of politics to denote everything that could be identified with the 'Systemzeit' or the Weimar Republic. In other words, by disregarding the fatal differences in the workers' movement it could cover the whole range of social democratic, socialist and communist tendencies. 'Kulturbolshevismus' gave way to 'System-Kunst', an expression used to cover the whole trail of changes in the arts which had been left in the wake of the November Revolution in 1918. It was distinguished by its openness towards technology and the media; sparseness of means; rejection of decoration and its functionally determined role in the community i.e. the integration of art in everyday life. To what extent this final aim was achieved is unfortunately questionable. Between 1933 and 1945 the fascist state appropriated and mobilised the concept of a 'healthy popular consciousness' which was antipathetical to these ideas.

A further criterion of Nazi arts politics was the rejection of all 'isms' that could be regarded as French or un-German. Any breakdown of form, be it through Impressionism, Expressionism or Cubism, was considered as a manifestation of irrationalism and, in the final analysis, as in the 'Entartete Kunst' exhibition, the product of a mentally sick person. This combination of populist awareness and the rejection of 'decadent art' began to be mobilised long before 1933.

An example illustrating this is the fate of the sculptor Ludwig Gies and his work. Born in 1887, he was a teacher at the Teaching Institute of the Kunstgewerbemuseums (Museum of Arts and Crafts) in Berlin after 1917. His *Crucifixion* (fig.1) for Lübeck Cathedral was put up there on a trial basis. However, opposition to it gathered around the poet Julius Havemann, who wrote:

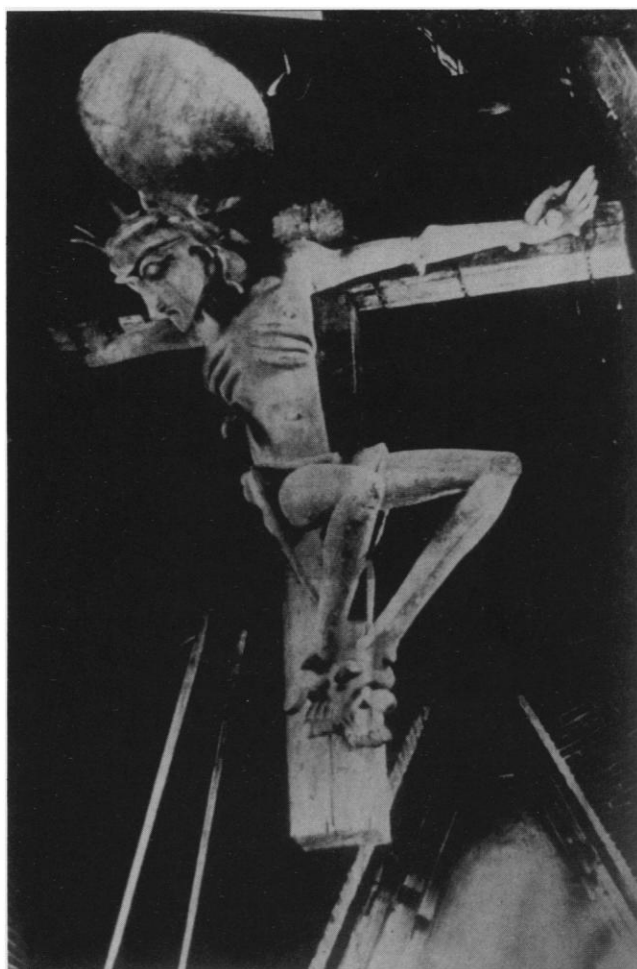


Fig. 1. Ludwig Gies, Crucifixion, 1922.

Durch dieses Christusbild fühle ich mich in meinem religiösen Empfinden auf das tiefste verletzt. Es ist der Körper eines Entarteten, eines in Dürftigkeit, Enge und Niedrigkeit längst zu pedantischer Eigensucht und resignierter Kapitulation vor der Welt verkümmerten Proletariers. (3)

Here, in 1921, art is already being assessed according to criteria that were generally used to determine political art only after 1933. At this early stage, the attack was only directed against this one particular work. Unidentified individuals knocked the head off the Crucifix in 1922 and it was sunk in a mill pond in Lubeck. The figure was reconstructed and displayed once again in 1937, this time at the exhibition of Decadent Art. As a result Gies lost his job in 1938 and in the same year his sculpture was finally destroyed. After the War, he worked as a teacher from 1950 to 1964 at the Technical School of Art in Cologne and died in 1966.

By isolating its work under the heading of 'decadent' or 'Bolshevist', the whole of the modern school was effectively banished by 1937–1938. This process reached a climax in 1939 when, in a delayed parallel to the burning of the books carried out in 1933, 1004 oil paintings and 3824

water colours, sketches and graphics were officially burned in the Köpenick fire station in Berlin.

One further example of the campaign waged against 'decadent' art which began before 1933 can be seen in the destruction of Oskar Schlemmer's murals in the Weimar Bauhaus; on the orders of Wilhelm Frick, the National Socialist Home Secretary in Thuringia, these were painted over in 1930.

3. Antisemitism

The expulsion of Jewish artists from cultural life can only be briefly mentioned here. This fundamental racist violation of human rights was directed against a part of the population which had made a cultural contribution of enormous qualitative and quantitative significance during the twenties that is too great to discuss in the context of the arts and fascism. However, the names of some of those who lost their jobs or were murdered for racist reasons should be mentioned: the graphic artist Ernst Böhm; the art historian Oskar Fischel; the painter Curt Lahs; the student Felix Nussbaum; the student Charlotte Salomon; the architect Franz von Seeck and the painter Emil Rudolf Weiss.

While all Jewish College teachers lost their jobs under the law regulating civil service employment, another ruling allowed for 1.5% of students to be of Jewish descent as long as their fathers had served in the First World War. The painter Charlotte Salomon, who studied from 1936–1938, was among these exceptions. In 1938 she emigrated to the South of France and from there she was deported to Auschwitz, where she was murdered in 1943. In the years preceding her deportation she painted her life story in a series of 1000 gouache drawings under the title of 'Life or Theatre'. Through a depiction of the fate of her family in Berlin during the twenties and thirties, these pictures reflect a view which is at once both very subjective and yet captures the universal nature of racial affliction. Visual art, music, theatre and film are displayed as a realm of events occurring against a background drawn from the experience of daily fascist persecution. These two elements are united in a work of cultural history seen from the viewpoint of a Jewish artist who was not yet 25 years old.

3.2 Bauhaus

The Bauhaus concept and its disintegration under National Socialism can best be indicated here through the example of Oskar Schlemmer (fig.2). Born in 1888, Schlemmer studied under Hölzel in Stuttgart and came to teach at the Bauhaus in Weimar during 1920. In 1923 he designed the murals for the entrance to the workshop building there, where Schlemmer already realised an

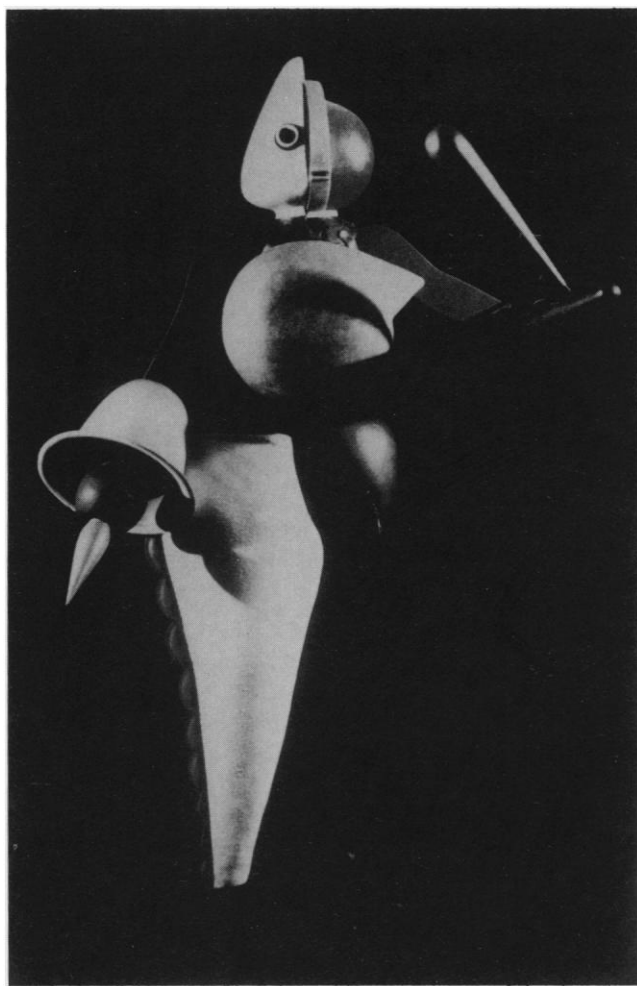


Fig. 2. Oskar Schlemmer, Figure from the Triadic Ballet, 1922.

artistic perspective which conflicted emotionally with the National Socialist view of mankind. He sought to depict forms in their essential simplicity, without emotion and without dramatic movement:

denn die Abstraktion der menschlichen Gestalt, um die es dann geht, schafft das Abbild in einem höheren Sinn, sie schafft nicht das Naturwesen Mensch, sie schafft ein Gleichnis, ein Symbol der menschlichen Gestalt⁴

The murals were destroyed as early as 1930 on the orders of the racial theorist and Director of the Weimar College of Art, Schultze-Naumburg.

In 1925 Schlemmer himself moved with the Bauhaus to settle in Dessau. When this was closed in 1932, he made some effort to be appointed to the Vereinigte Staatsschulen, taking over the perspective section in the Faculty of Fine Arts. This teaching commission came as a result of correspondence and discussion with the College director Bruno Paul and with Paul Hindemith, which in turn led Schlemmer to write to the Prussian Minister for Science, Art and Popular Education setting his ideas out for a teaching post in Berlin. The physical proximity of the Verein-

igte Staatsschulen in Hardenbergstrasse to the Hochschule für Musik in Fasanstrasse, combined with the hopes for the integration of the two which the VS had nursed from its inception, seemed to Schlemmer to offer optimal conditions for the realisation of his concept for teaching 'Stage-studios'. He had already published several outlines of this in Breslau and it seemed to him to have a realistic chance of success in the German capital:

Was in Dessau auf kleinem Raum und mit bescheiden Mitteln möglich war, dürfte in Berlin, wo alle geistigen und Künstlerischen Fäden zusammenlaufen, leichter und besser zu verwickeln sein.⁵

During ministerial discussions he mentioned such people as Hindemith, Mary Wigman, Gret Palucca, Gropius, Klee, Feininger and Kandinsky as referees.

By the beginning of June 1932 Schlemmer had received a contract of employment to work at the Vereinigte Staatsschulen in the Hardenbergstrasse, a fortunate appointment, which he hoped would be unaffected by the Nazi seizure of power. On 8 November 1932 he gave his inaugural lecture. Out of the 300 students at the school, 62 enrolled for his lectures on 'Perspective for Painters and Sculptors'. His plans for the Bühnenstudios (Stage I studios) failed however, both because of the VS's internal politics as well as its relationship with the HfM which was also in the throes of a political takeover.

Within the VS the arguments over the relationship between free and applied arts had reached a high point, culminating in major attacks on Bruno Paul who, as Director, embodied the idea of unifying the Academy and the School of Technical Crafts. Running in parallel with this was a second political view which complained about the 'Jewish director of the Academy' and which gave some indication of the threatening measures which were employed in the next few years. The two attacks together led Paul to leave his post on 31 December 1932 and to head a disciplinary inquiry against himself.

Oskar Schlemmer's enthusiasm for the teaching possibilities in Berlin at first remained unblemished by the political developments around him. In February 1933 he wrote:

Die Nazipolitik hat bis jetzt die Akademie verschont (...) vielleicht wenns kritisch wird, rettet mich am Ende die 'Perspective'! Sie ist unpolitisch.⁶

On 1 April 1933, however, a banner hanging in the entrance hall to the VS denounced him together with Hofer, Weiß, Gies, Reger and Wolfsfeld as 'destructive Jewish-Marxist elements'; it called for the boycott of his classes and made confrontation

inevitable. A student of the time described the scene retrospectively:

An beiden Seiten dieses Plakates standen Studenten in Nazi-Uniform, Braunhemden. Ich sehe heute noch, wie Professor Schlemmer in die Halle trat, ein Buch in der Hand spielerisch hin und her schlenkernd. Stutzend blieb er vor dem Plakat stehen. Welche Lüge, rief er dann aus und schlug mit dem Buch in das Plakat. Aber keiner der Uniformierten rührte ihn an.⁷

However, his contract of employment was terminated on 30 September 1933.

The letter of departure which Kutschmann wrote to Schlemmer in the college's name was almost cynically pleasant:

Nur kurze Zeit waren sie einer der Unsrigen. Sie hatten geglaubt, hier auf längere Sicht arbeiten und Ihren Weg in Ruhe weitergehen zu können. Es ist anders gekommen.⁸

Schlemmer's reply expressed his hope that a revival of German idealism would overcome the injustices being suffered at present:

Ich wünsche den Vereinigten Staatsschulen, daß darin die Kräfte lebendig werden, welche den deutschen Idealismus in der Kunst zum Siege führen. Die Hoffnung und der Glaube daran vermag dann auch mit Ungerechtigkeiten zu versöhnen welche mir und so viel Anderen jetzt widerfahren.⁹

Having lost his job, Schlemmer travelled first to Switzerland. In 1934 he returned to Germany, initially working in a painting firm. His application for acceptance to the Reichskulturkammer (Ministry for Culture) was refused on the grounds that his past political leanings together with his form of artistic expression made him a typical exponent of 'cultural bolshevism':

1921 kam Schlemmer ins Bauhaus Weimar und war dort federführend für die kommunistische Richtung. Über Dessau gelangte er an die Vereinigten Staatsschulen für angewandte Kunst, Charlottenburg, Hardenbergstr. 33, wurde dort Professor, aber als einer der typischen Vertreter der Verfallskunst am 30.9.'33 entlassen. Er war Mitglied des Sturm- und Aktionskreises . . .¹⁰

In 1940 Schlemmer was taken on in a paint factory and made responsible for camouflage painting in the armaments industry. He died in 1943 in Baden-Baden.

In 1929, Hannes Meyer had been dismissed as director of the Bauhaus, accused of being a Marxist. In 1930 he was succeeded by Mies van der Rohe who proclaimed a 'neutral' attitude in the school. Nevertheless, the Bauhaus in Dessau was closed in October 1932 and all its staff dismissed. Mies van der Rohe rented an old factory building in Berlin at his own expense and the school's teaching programme resumed in January

1933. In April, the building was searched by the police and afterwards closed. After several months of discussion between van der Rohe and Alfred Rosenberg, the Bauhaus received a letter stating his conditions for its re-opening, starting with the dismissal of Wassily Kandinsky in line with the Berufsbeamtentumsgesetz. These were unacceptable and so the assembly of teachers decided to close the school on 20 July 1933. Most of them emigrated to the U.S.A.

3.3 Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity)

The relationship of *Neue Sachlichkeit* to Fascism will be illustrated here by the example of the painter Georg Schrimpf, who was born in Munich in 1889. Trained as a baker, he worked in Leipzig and Berlin as well as travelling around Europe before arriving in Munich in 1913. A legacy enabled him to devote himself to drawing and painting. Apart from eight days spent in a private painting school, he remained self-taught throughout his life. A meeting with (fig. 3) Maria Graf and some of the Expressionists decided the line his work was to follow and his first graphics were printed in the magazine *Die Aktion* in 1913. He spent the first year of the war working in a chocolate factory and painting posters in the KaDeWe in Berlin. There he met Herzfelde, Grosz and the Dadaists. Having married Marie Uhden, he returned to Munich.

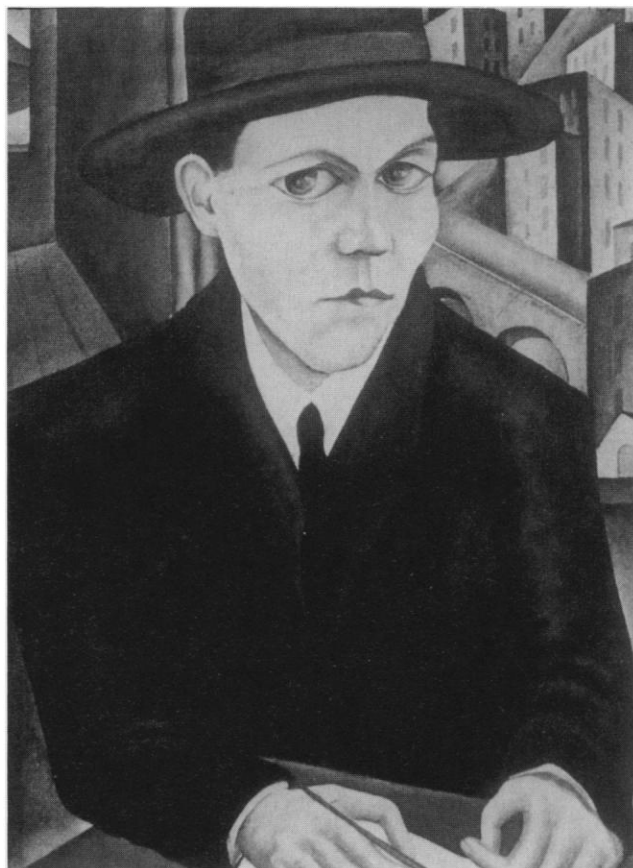


Fig. 3. Georg Schrimpf, Portrait of Oskar Maria Graf, 1918.

Her sudden death on the birth of their first child made a lasting impression on his future artistic endeavours in which he repeatedly returned to the mother and child theme. In 1918 he took part in the revolution in Munich and participated in the *Räterepublik* (Munich Soviet Republic) in 1919. During the same year he joined the KPD and remained with them until 1926. He was also a supporter of the 'Rote Hilfe' and its work.

If his early output, particularly his graphics, still carried the traits of expressionism, he became an exponent of *Neue Sachlichkeit* in the mid twenties. The Mannheim *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition of 1925 developed the concept into a style which the exhibition organiser, G.F. Hartlaub, referred to as 'post-expressionist' and in the catalogue he praised its search for truth and certainty in a period of resigned pessimism:

daß die künstler, enttäuscht, ernüchert, oft bis zum Zynismus resigniert, fast sich selber aufgebend nach einem Augenblick grenzenloser, beinahe apokalyptischer Hoffnung – sich mitten in der Katastrophe auf das besinnen, was das Nächste, das Gewisseste und Haltbarste ist: die Wahrheit und das Handwerk¹¹

Two tendencies can be distinguished within the general concept of *Neue Sachlichkeit*: first, the so-called 'left', those who were social critics and who chose objects which referred to the social realities around them (Dix, Grosz, Hubbuck etc.) and second the 'Timeless' or 'Italian' tendency, which orientated itself around the classical eternal laws of Being or necessity in human beings and nature. Connections with the Italian *pittura metafisica* were both formal and personal. Their close relationship with Italian Fascism is widely recognised.

Schrimpf belonged to this latter group. Their ideology, which was held without hesitation in fascist Germany, was defined by Richard Bie in an article published in 1930 in which he describes *Neue Sachlichkeit* expressing a truly German visual approach as opposed to the imported Impressionism of France, Germany's 'hereditary enemy'. In it he finds the values of 'true breeding', 'commitment to discipline and loyalty', 'masculine clarity' realised without any deception but according to the laws of absolute truth:

Der künstler muß sich bewähren vor der Natur. Er tritt ihr mit Ehrfurcht gegenüber und sein Handwerk besteht in nichts andrem als in der Befolgung der regelmäßigen Ordnung und zweckvollen Einfachheit der Welt.¹²

The artist's social and political position are expressed through his satisfaction with imposing order on social chaos:

Alles, was in der Stadt zur Anarchie drängt, findet hier zurück Ordnung von Mensch und Welt.¹³

If Bie saw parallels with Dürer, who in his eyes was the greatest craftsman in German art, Schrimpf saw himself as inheriting the tradition of Caspar David Friedrich and Rembrandt. In 1933 he described his art as being motivated by the desire to be clear, simple and unambiguous.

In 1933 Alexander Kanoldt, who with Schrimpf was one of the earliest followers of the 'Idealist' tendency in the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement, was appointed to the newly-vacated position of director of the Staatlichen Kunstschule (National College of Art) in Berlin. Kanoldt, a member of the NSDAP, appointed Schrimpf to the position of professor in the College during the same year, after an SS attack in February had effected a 'clean up' there which resulted in the dismissal of many Expressionist teachers such as Georg Tappert (fig. 4). The appointment of Karl Rössing (fig.5) brought another representative of the new movement onto the faculty. He had been directly associated with the 'Leftish' side of *Neue Sachlichkeit* before 1933 (e.g. the series of wood engravings *Mein Vorurteil gegen diese Zeit*) but in 1933 joined the NSDAP and committed his future artistic services to the 'glorification' of power (fig.6). These changes guaranteed Rössing's prominence, as numerous state commissions, from Rudolf Hess among others, testify.

In 1937 Kanoldt was promoted however, and his successor, a party member called Zimbal, exposed Schrimpf's political past and denounced him as a former KPD member. In doing so he made reference to his important contribution to the most recent developments in art as well as to his loyalty to National Socialism:

Ich kann nach gründlicher Prüfung versichern, daß Prof. Schrimpf heute voll und ganz zu Adolf Hitler und seinem Reiche steht.¹⁴

Schrimpf's situation was further aggravated when his earlier pictures were shown at the exhibition of 'decadent art'. Under the Civil Service Employment Law, he was now given notice on 23 September 1937. The NS student leader pleaded on his behalf, claiming that he represented the modern German style of landscape painting,¹⁵ but this had no more effect in hindering the dismissal than the fact that Schrimpf was working on a commission for Hess at the time. In spite of his formal dismissal, he nevertheless retained his studio at the Academy and received a further commission at the beginning of 1938. His application for membership of the Reichskulturkammer, which was a prerequisite of any freelance activities, was turned down in February 1938:

Seine Kunst entfällt bis in die Jahre nach dem Kriege unter den Begriff 'Entartete Kunst', später wechselte er seine Anschauung wendete sich der sogenannten neuen Sachlichkeit zu . . . , Unter Berücksichtigung



Fig. 4. Georg Schrimpf, *View of the Black Forest*, 1936.

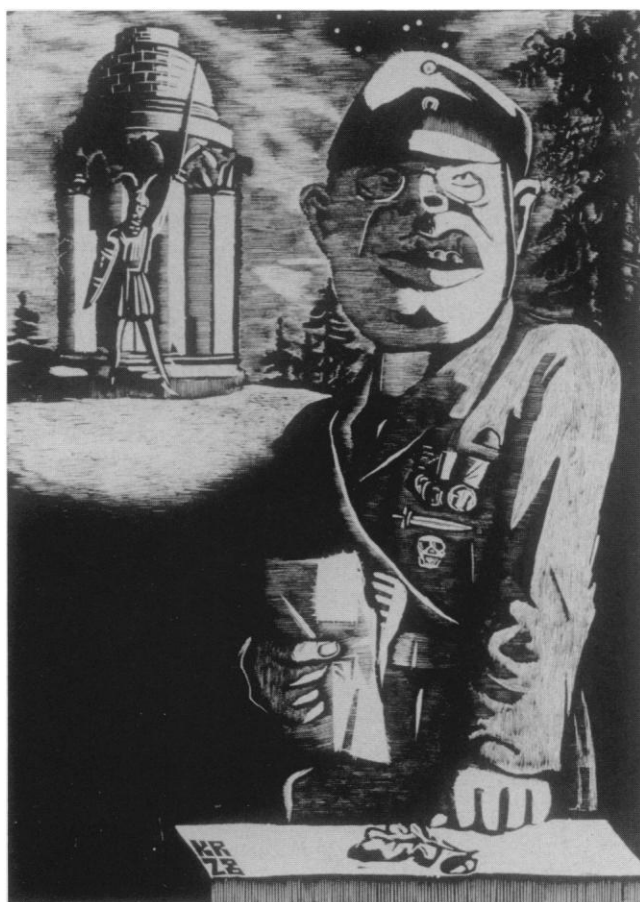


Fig. 5. Karl Rössing, *From the German Märchenwald*, (part of the series *My Prejudice against these times*), 1928.

seiner früheren starken gegnerischen Einstellung . . . kann die Gewähr für seine politische Zuverlässigkeit auf keinen Fall übernommen werden.¹⁶

Schrimpf died a few months later on 19 April 1938.

In all of this, Schrimpf is typical of a series of artists (such as Dix and Rössing) whose political positions changed in line with the power relations that developed in the twenties and who found artistic expression which corresponded to that change. While Dix escaped, both physically and artistically, into the German countryside (which like Schrimpf he idealised with the finest brush strokes), Rössing saved himself by means of party membership and his ability to adapt to the situation in Berlin. The drama around Schrimpf arose only because his political past caught up with him and his extreme conformity to the views of the new holders of power proved to be of no avail. His physical death was a mere continuation of an artistic self-extermination. In the period after the war, Rössing tried to resume his artistic approach from the twenties and thirties in both theme and style (e.g. *Tiergarten* (woodcutting)). Later he tried to find room for himself in the so-called 'modern' school of art, while at the same time perserving in the area of decorative craftwork illustration. Dix, on the other hand, adapted himself first of all in 1945 to the modernistic *Ruinen-Einheitsstil* (unified style from the ruins) of the post-war period, and then turned to big format oil paintings on the Christ theme. Here, however,

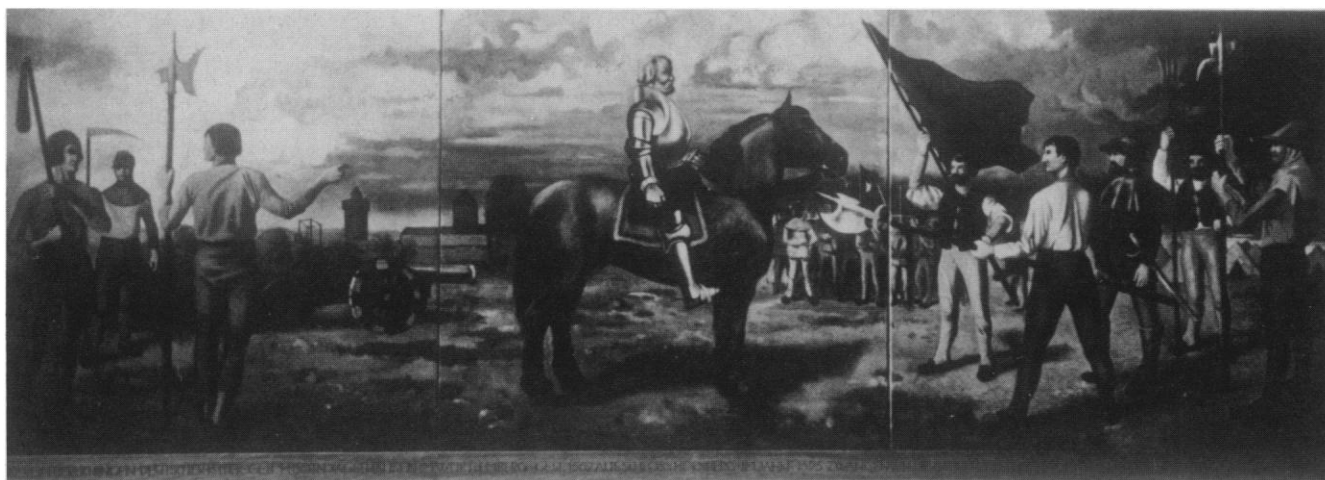


Fig. 6. Karl Rössing, *Götz von Berlichingen*, (undated mural).

he again failed, after so many years of changes and adjustments, to equal the artistic strength of his early paintings.

3.4 The Discussion around the New German Expressionism

Professor Maillard, another teacher at the *Kunstschule*, expressed the opinion to the Ministry of Culture that German art had to be purged of the destructive effects of the chaos and 'isms' that characterised 1933:

Die Kunstentwicklung der letzten Jahre hat zu einem Chaos geführt . . . die der deutschen Kunst aufgezwungenen . . . ismen müssen unschädlich gemacht werden, alles, was zur Zersetzung beiträgt, muß beseitigt werden, wie es die neue Regierung bereits auf dem politischen und wirtschaftlichen Gebiete getan hat.¹⁷

References to 'isms' here mean particularly 'impressionism' and 'expressionism'. However, in the early years of National Socialism, this view did not go unchallenged. Indeed, an open debate arose around the subject of what a specifically German art under National Socialism should be. In June 1933 this led to a clash between the exponents of a 'populist' art and those who saw in the German Expressionism of artists like Emil Nolde or Ernst Barlach an art form which would be an appropriate accompaniment to an aspiring NS movement. The 'political art opposition' gathered together under the leadership of Otto Andreas Schreiber, a student at the College in Berlin and head of the NS Student Union. At a series of organised meetings, he attacked the defamation of the modern school and the persecution of artists like Nolde, Barlach, Schmidt-Rottluff and Kirchner. He openly criticized the crimes against German culture being committed by an 'Organisation übelläuniger Pinselschwinger' (organisation of heavy-handed daubers), by which he meant the more populist *Kampfbund für*

deutsche Kultur (Fighting League for German Culture), whose aims he compared with those of amateurs who justified simplistic notions of art by recourse to catchwords like 'nature' and 'populism':

Der Gartenlaubenkünstler und der Literaturmaler erleben ihre große Zeit, denn der erst ahmt die Natur nach und erklärt, das Volk verstehe ihn, der andre malt germanische Inhalte und erklärt, seine Kunst sei 'Völkisch'.¹⁸

This conflict came to a head at a student meeting in 1933 billed as 'Youth fights for German Culture'. Schreiber turned against his opponents' dogmatic construction of art history and called for artistic freedom. With this he announced an exhibition of German Expressionist works under the auspices of the NS Student Union. The same debate was also being conducted in parallel in the German press and Karl Hofer was still able to participate. The openness of the discussion in the summer of 1933 seemed at first to indicate an easing in the persecution of 'cultural bolshevism' in favour of a more liberal differentiation, which was perhaps why a painter like Emil Nolde found it possible to reconcile his artistic and political standpoints enough to become an enthusiastic member of the NDSAP.

However, when the 'National Revolution' was declared to be at an end in July 1933, the concessions made in the 'period of struggle' in order to gain youth support were also withdrawn. Otto Andreas Schreiber was charged with being a 'cultural Otto Strasser' (the spokesman of the 'left-socialist' current in the NDSAP). Following this the exhibition of '30 German artists' staged by the Students Union and opened on 22 July 1933, was closed after two days on the orders of the Reich Home Secretary, Frick. It had featured works by Pechstein, Macke, Nolde, Schmidt-Rottluff and other representatives of German Expressionism.

Not until the dual exhibition — 'Große Kunst-

austellung' and 'Entartete Kunst' — was held in 1937, was the debate between populist and Expressionist art settled in favour of a third school which accurately reflected the power relationships now established in the country. This school, typified by the gigantic classical canvases of Breker (fig. 7) and Thorak continued the populist landscape idyll and the representation of German myth. After this, Expressionism was excluded from all cultural life.

Karl Hofer and Georg Tappert were among the victims of political manoeuvring at the VS in Berlin. Karl Hofer, born in 1878, became a Professor in Berlin in 1920. In 1918 he had belonged to one of the *Arbeitsrat für kunst* (Art Work Councils) and to the *Novembergruppe* which was a group of Expressionist artists. In 1933 he was pensioned off early as a 'cultural bolshevist' and then expelled from both the Academy of Art (in 1937) and the *Reichskulturkammer* in 1938, although he was re-admitted to the latter once he had separated from his Jewish wife. Most of his pictures were destroyed by Allied bombing in 1943, but in 1945 he began to re-construct them with the help of photographs. In 1945 he was taken on as director of the newly-founded *Berliner Kunsthochschule* by the allies.

Georg Tappert (fig. 8), born in 1880, spent three years as principal of the Art School in Worpswede after completing his studies. In 1913 he moved to Berlin as a teacher and in 1921 became a professor. Like Hofer, he belonged to the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* and was a founder member of the *Novembergruppe*. Following the SA attack on the College of Art in 1933, he was first dismissed and then, due

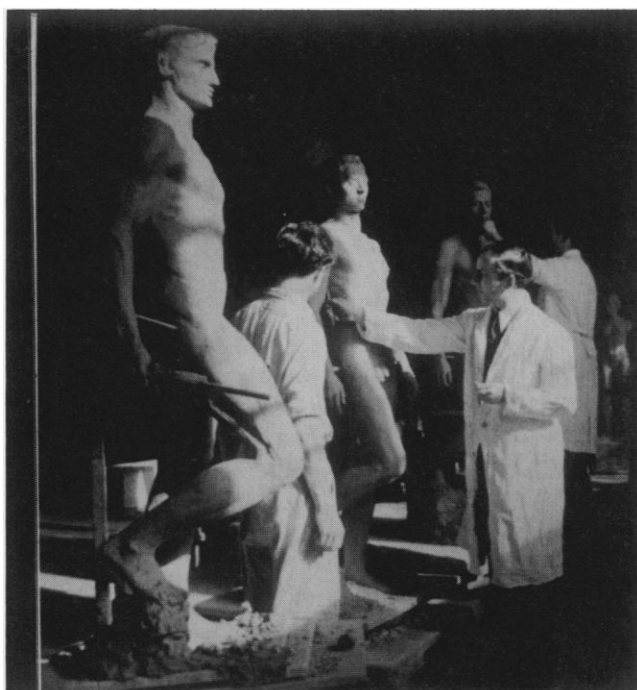


Fig. 7. Arno Breker in his studio at the *Berlin Kunsthochschule*.

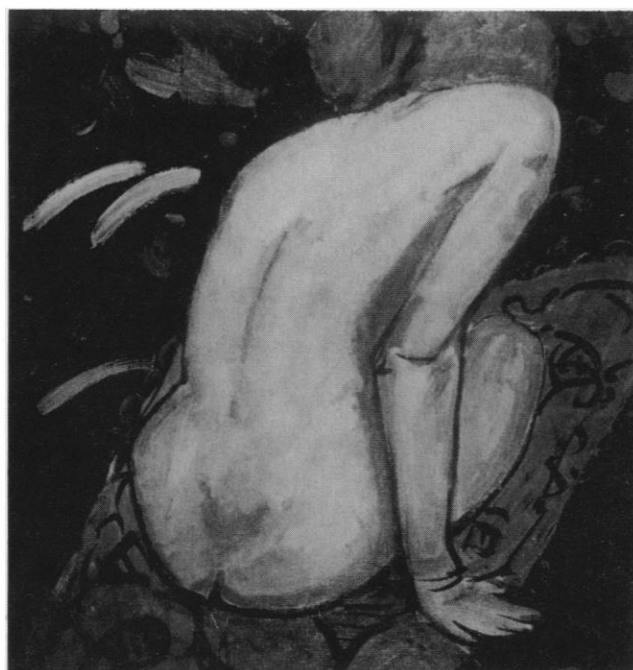


Fig. 8. Georg Tappert, *Green Nude*, 1910.

to the unresolved status of Expressionism, re-employed. In 1937, however, his dismissal was made final, but in spite of being prohibited from painting, he worked on. He changed, however, from socially critical themes to landscape subjects. In 1944 he took part in the political resistance and was re-appointed to the College in 1945 by Hofer. But he found he could no longer paint. The external pressure to abandon social themes destroyed him as an artist. He never painted another picture after 1945 and instead dedicated himself to teaching. Tappert died in 1957.

3.5 Resistance through artistic work

This category includes all those who evaded NS doctrines in their work and whose refusal to adapt became a form of resistance. The price of this refusal was for the most part a mode of existence on the edge of German cultural life, without state commissions or advancement through generous financial support. This, however, should be qualified by noting that there was hardly any artist who did not try at some time to elicit support from the state, although often unsuccessfully. In respect of this, the borders of a falsely idealised concept of resistance became blurred by the necessity of everyday survival. Thus it was that – to name a particularly unexpected example – even Kurt Schumacher contributed to the decoration of the Karin Hall commissioned by Göring. In so doing he was able, like many others, to accept a commission, grant or prize which served not only to support him materially but also to camouflage political resistance.

Exponents of the position referred to here

include the artists from the *Ateliergemeinschaft Klosterstraße* such as Hermann Blumenthal, Ludwig Kasper and Käthe Kollwitz. Their attitude can be exemplified by the works of Fritz Cremer dating from this time, such as the relief *Trauernde Frauen* (*Mourning Women*, 1936) or the *Selbstbildnis als sterbender Soldat* (*Self Portrait as a Dying Soldier*, 1937) or his *Soldatenmutter* (*Soldier's Mother*, 1943). Instead of a resolute soldier's head, representing a removal from all concrete reality, determination to fight and dedication to the task, Cremer's soldier has the reflective expression of the artist himself – a year before the outbreak of war – anticipating his own death. Both the *Trauernde Frauen* and the *Soldatenmutter* assume the style of Kollwitz and Barlach, contradicting through their content the heroic readiness for self-sacrifice demanded by National Socialism.

3.6 Taking part in the political resistance

During the fascist period, Elisabeth and Kurt Schumacher (born 1904 and 1905) were students at the VS. Elisabeth studied graphics and photography while Kurt studied sculpture under Ludwig Gies, becoming a senior student after 1932. He shared his studio with Fritz Cremer, who studied under Wilhelm Gerstel after 1929. Stu-

dent political discussion led all three to join the anti-fascist resistance movement. Elisabeth and Kurt Schumacher made contact with the Schulze-Boysen/Harnack organisation. Their studio served as a postbox for this resistance group for many years. Many persecuted resistance fighters, such as Walter Husemann, or members of the organisation itself, such as Oda Schottmüller, came to the studio under the guise of being models. At night Cremer would print anti-fascist slogans on small leaflets which would be handed over during the modelling sessions for distribution (fig. 9).

Schottmüller, the Schumachers, the writer Adam Kuckhoff, the ceramicist Cato Bontjes van Beck, the photographer John Graudenz and other artists joined the *Rote Kapelle*. This resistance group formed itself around Harro Schulze-Boysen, the government adviser to the Ministry for Economic Planning, and their activities were concerned with disseminating information and materials concerning the preparation and implementation of fascist war plans. The artists were just as active in producing and spreading pamphlets like *Die innere Front*, as they were in making illegal radio contact with the Soviet Union at the beginning of the war.

Cremer and Schumacher solved the problem of being artist-participants in the Resistance in different ways. This had less to do with divergences



Fig. 9. Fritz Cremer working on a statue of Oda Schottmüller in his Hochschule studio, 1936.

in their political convictions than with the conditions dictated by their respective forms of artistic expression. Neither of them had belonged to the artistic avant-garde as students in the thirties because the teachers who had represented such a trend had already been dismissed by 1933. Cremer had studied under Wilhelm Gerstel and adopted his rather classical, academic approach to figure work which he could adapt to his own humanistic anti-fascist view. So his work remained, for the most part, untainted and even won a state prize at the Academy of Arts in 1936 when there was still uncertainty in the balance of power. This was for his relief *Trauernde Frauen* (Mourning Women) which privately was being called 'Gestapo' and which he dedicated to Käthe Kollwitz. The bursary which accompanied the award enabled him to travel to London where he met such exiles as Bertolt Brecht. Their discussions about the task given to an artist in fascist Germany, led Brecht to write to one of the Me-Ti stories:

Zu der Zeit der äußersten Unterdrückung durch den Hi-jeh fragte ein Bildhauer den Me-ti, welche Motive er wählen könne, um bei der Wahrheit zu bleiben und doch nicht der Polizei in die Hände zu fallen. Mache eine schwangere Arbeitsfrau riet ihm Me-ti, laß sie mit kummervollem Blick ihren Leib betrachten. Dann hast du vieles gesagt.¹⁹

Kurt Schumacher had been influenced by the style of his teacher Ludwig Gies who expressively reformulated Christian motifs with elements from Gothic sculpture. This expressiveness had, to a certain extent, already been ostracised as 'decadent' in the twenties and led to his being banned from all work and teaching in 1938. Consequently, Schumacher came to do very little independent art work during the war, not least because he wished to mask his political activities. Instead as a form of camouflage, he even accepted state commissions, for example the decoration of the Arbeitsschutzmuseum.

Whereas Cremer could unite his political and artistic work, Schumacher had to abandon the latter and in his final year concentrated solely on the task of political resistance. The core of the Schulze-Boysen/Harnack organisation was arrested in late 1942. The Schumachers and Oda Schottmüller were (along with Adam Kuckhoff, Harro Schulze-Boysen and Arvid Harnack) condemned to death and executed in Plötzensee on 22 December 1942. In a farewell letter before his execution, Kurt Schumacher, summarising his artistic and political creed, made reference to his artistic heritage:

Von Beruf bin ich Bildhauer, Holzschnitzer, Riemen-schneider, Veit Stoß, Jörg Ratgeb waren meine großen Kollegen, vor denen ich mich voll Demut in Dunkeln beuge. Sie starben an der Seite der Bauernrev-

olutionäre (...) Nur die Werke der Künstler haben Weltgeltung, sind unsterblich, die im gesellschaftlichen Geschehen, und in Konflikten standen und stehen (...) Warum führte ich nicht ein zurückgezogenes Künstlerleben, abseits aller Politik? Weil dann eben die Kunst nur eine kleine Geltung gehabt hätte und nicht unsterblich, lebendig gewesen wäre. So sterbe ich eher, als daß ich das belanglose Leben der vielen, allzu vielen gelebt hätte!²⁰

4. The New Beginning

The period between the cessation of fighting and the beginning of the Cold War can be illustrated by the cases of Ehmsen, Nerlinger and Grzimek.

On 18 June 1945 the Hochschule der Künste at the Steinplatz was opened by Karl Hofer, who had been appointed director by the allies. Together with his deputy Heinrich Ehmsen and Georg Tappert, who had been employed at the art school in Grunewaldstrasse, he at first succeeded in having all the teaching and administrative posts filled by anti-fascists. This resulted in the integration of all those involved in the teaching of art, and the faculty was overwhelmingly comprised of those like Hofer, Tappert, Ehmsen, Schmitt-Rottluff, Nerlinger and Taut who had been persecuted as anti-fascists. The College co-operated closely with its counterpart in East Berlin. In its early years many professors commuted to and fro between the two parts of the city. This changed abruptly with the development of Berlin as a 'frontier city' behind which the Allies developed three zones in West Berlin. This political division was confirmed by the currency reforms of 1948 and in turn gave rise to the Berlin Blockade, which involved the sealing off of all land routes to West Berlin. The ensuing crisis had a major role to play in whipping up an anti-communist hysteria which had an impact on all areas of social and cultural life in West Berlin. Only against this background can the fate of some of the teachers in the HfBK be understood.

Heinrich Ehmsen was born in Kiel during 1886 and studied in Düsseldorf from 1906–1910. He lived in Munich between 1912 and 1929 and was involved with the Munich *Rätetepublic*. This activity, and several study trips to the USSR, led to his being arrested several times after 1933. In 1940 he accepted the task of looking after French artists in occupied Paris. In 1942 he was dismissed as politically unreliable, took part in the *Malerstaffel* in the USSR (where he was also dismissed as a 'cultural bolshevist') and then returned to Berlin to take part in the resistance to National Socialism. In 1949, like many of his colleagues, he signed the call for a Congress of World Peace.

This 'Congrès mondial des partisans pour la paix' took place in Paris in April 1949. Among the organisers and promoters were Louis Aragon and Pablo Picasso — who also designed the banner with one of his famous doves. As a result of the

gathering, delegates from 72 countries founded the Council of World Peace, which still exists today, and proclaimed:

Kunst, Wissenschaft zum Wohle der Menschheit können sich nur im Frieden entwickeln und wachsen. Wir begrüßen den Weltfriedenskongreß, die fortschrittlichen Intellektuellen aus allen Ländern, die sich den Kriegshetzern und der Kriegspsychose entgegenstellen, um zu verhindern, daß die Welt noch einmal in blutige Barbarei zurücksinkt. Wir wünschen dem Kongreß den größten Erfolg bei seiner Aufgabe, die friedliebenden Menschen in der ganzen Welt zu vereinen.²¹

After this, public opinion was whipped up against the signatories — and Ehmsen in particular found himself the object of opposition castigation. Karl Hofer wrote a letter to the students justifying his signature on the appeal:

Sehr wohl entsinne ich mich noch des Brieftextes, der mich seinerzeit aus meinem Lehramt entfernte: 'Sie sind nicht würdig und geeignet, Lehrer der Jugend zu sein'. Genau das gleiche ist heute im Tagesspiegel zu lesen (...). Was ist geschehen? Ich habe, ohne die jungen Herren vorher um Erlaubnis zu fragen, als Privatperson, zusammen mit einigen Kollegen eine Friedensresolution unterzeichnet (...). Wir unterzeichnen jede Friedensbestrebung, woher sie auch kommen mag. Ich bin weder Russe noch Amerikaner, ich bin Deutscher und wünsche unsern Volk den Frieden.

On 30 September 1949 the magistrate of Berlin pronounced Ehmsen's dismissal. The Works Council at first withheld its consent and an examining commission was set up which found that Ehmsen had been disruptive at work. This made the dismissal legally effective. Ehmsen left for the DDR, became a member of the East German AdK and died there in 1964. In the West he remained an unknown figure.

This was the first post-war instance of professional banning on political grounds and it was to be followed by more in the next few years as three other college professors were outlawed. Gustav Seitz (fig. 10) was charged with having DDR contacts and both Waldemar Grzimek (fig. 11) and Oskar Nerlinger were accused of supporting peace activities against the war in Korea. All three left for the DDR. As a result of the tension around the 'Formalist' debate in the DDR, Grzimek and Seitz later returned to the Federal Republic.

Arno Breker's student Bernhard Heiliger, who in turn had first worked in the DDR, was appointed to one of the newly vacated professorships in sculpture. His work showed an increasing tendency towards abstraction, a trend that was encouraged during these years in the West as a third alternative to the socio-critical art of the twenties and the pseudo-realistic art of the Nazi period which had generally discredited realism. At the

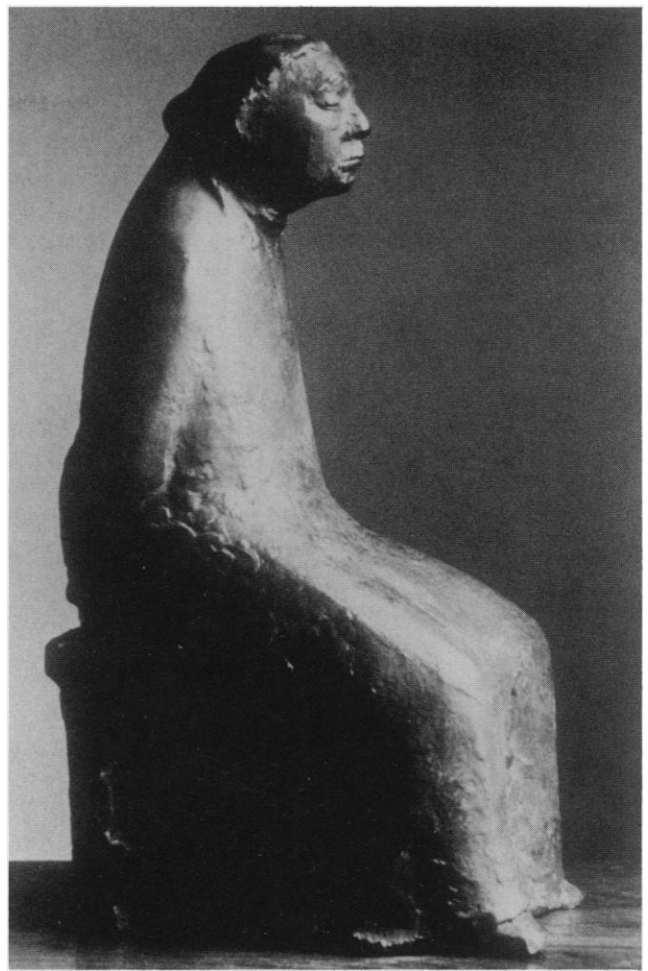


Fig. 10. Gustav Seitz, Käthe Kollwitz, 1956.

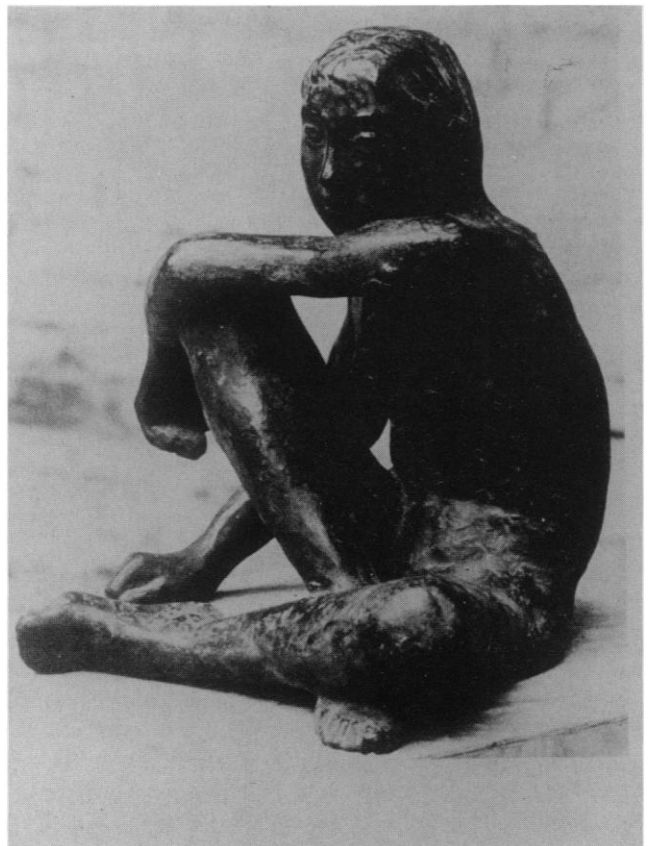


Fig. 11. Waldemar Grzimek, Concetta, 1942.

same time, a new artistic direction was sought which would be both German and cosmopolitan enough to appeal to the international art market.

In the post-war period this new 'escape into abstraction' failed critically to confront the nature and history of NS art as well as the more general causes and character of fascism. Rather, after 1945, art effectively assumed the substance and functional character it had under NS — in spite of the apparent differences between the two periods at first glance. So, for example, the *Weibliche Torso* by Bernhard Heiliger (1953) portrays an image of woman which, in its sacrificial pose, can hardly be distinguished from such sculptures as Breker's *Anmut* (*Grace*, 1940) or Thorak's *Stehenden* (1940). His 'Flame' (fig.12) in the Ernst-Reuter Platz, although placed at the side away from the central axis, refers — like NS sculptures — to political values, symbolising freedom through the image of the flame. The key to this reference is not in the sculpture itself but rather in its positioning (Strasse des 17 Juni). Is it coincidental that works by Breker's students were mounted on the East-West axis of the square which, according to Speer's plans, was meant to be decorated with 23 reliefs (including *Die Kamaraden*, *Der Wächter*, *Der Rächer*, *Die Vergeltung* by Arno Breker)?

All in all it seems to be at least no coincidence that precisely this style of abstract, and hence timeless, value-free, international art in which I believe elements of pre-conquest (or 'collapse' as it is referred to in speeches for the 8th May Memorial Day) German art and culture are still

operative, should lead to the production of symbolic objects for official buildings in the period of reconstruction. I would suggest that precisely these artists and their artistic statements could, under the prevailing political climate, become what Bussmann, in reference to Kolbe and Scheibe at the end of the twenties, called the 'Classicists of Transition'.

The author would like to thank Paul Crossley for his help in preparing the translations.

Notes

1. 'So, for example, sculptors engage in calligraphy, pattern designers draw nudes, architects do painting exercises and painters from the independent departments take part in architectural exercises. The foundation of the teaching is thus much broader, its outlook directed in a variety of ways to what is practical.' Bruno Paul, report of 13.7.32, HdK-Archive.

2. 'Once again the artist's work is today intervening in almost every aspect of economic life. Our trade and industry depends, to a great extent, on artistic creativity: house building, furniture design, glass, ceramics, furniture and clothes fabrics, linoleum, tool-making — all this needs guidance from the artist. So does the design of houses, office blocks, tramcars, railway carriage compartments and car bodywork.' Bruno Paul, speech 30.6.32, HdK-Archive.

3. 'When I look at this Crucifixion I am wounded at the deepest level of my religious experience. It is the body of a degenerate, of a withered proletarian, long resigned in its feebleness, poverty and lowness to pedantic selfishness and capitulation in the face of life.' Quoted by Abram Enns, *Kunst und Bürgertum*, Lübeck, 1978, p.57.

4. 'Because the abstraction of the human figure, if that is what concerns us, creates an image in a higher sense, it creates not the essentially natural man, but a likeness, a symbol of the human figure.' Oskar Schlemmer, manuscript of a lecture for the Breslau College of Art, 26.10.30.

5. 'What was possible in Dessau, in a small space and with modest means, we can put into practice better and more easily in Berlin, where all the threads of intellectual and artistic life run together.' Oskar Schlemmer, letter to the Minister of Science, Art and National Education, 12.9.31, Berlin, HdK-Archive.

6. 'So far the Academy has escaped the attention of Nazi politics . . . perhaps, if the situation becomes critical, I'll be rescued by "perspective"! It sounds so unpolitical. Oskar Schlemmer, letter to W.B., beginning of February 1933, in *Briefe und Tagebücher*, Munich, 1958, p.306.

7. 'On both sides of this banner stood students in Nazi uniform, brown shirts. I can still see today Professor Schlemmer coming into the hall, a book in his hand, playfully swinging it to and fro. Hesitating, he stopped in front of the banner. "What lies" he shouted, and hit the banner with his book. But not one of the students in uniform laid a finger on him!' Erwin Graumann, 'An Example to Many' in *Mittelungsblatt des Wirtschaftsverband Bildender Künstler Nordrhein-Westfalen*, No.8, September 1969, p.117.

8. 'You were one of us for only a short time. You had hoped to work here in the long term, and to pursue your way in peace. It has turned out otherwise.' Max Kutschmann, letter to O. Schlemmer, 10.10.33, HdK-Archive.

9. 'I would like those forces which led German idealism in art to victory, to come alive in the National Union of Colleges. Hope and belief in that may then help appease the injustices which have now befallen me and so many others.' Oskar Schlemmer, letter to Max Kutschmann, 23.10.33, Oskar Schlemmer Archive, Stuttgart.

10. 'In 1921 Schlemmer entered the Bauhaus in Weimar and was in overall charge of these communist movements. From Dessau he moved to the Union of National Colleges for Applied Art, Charlottenburg, Hardenbergstraße 33. He was a professor there, but was

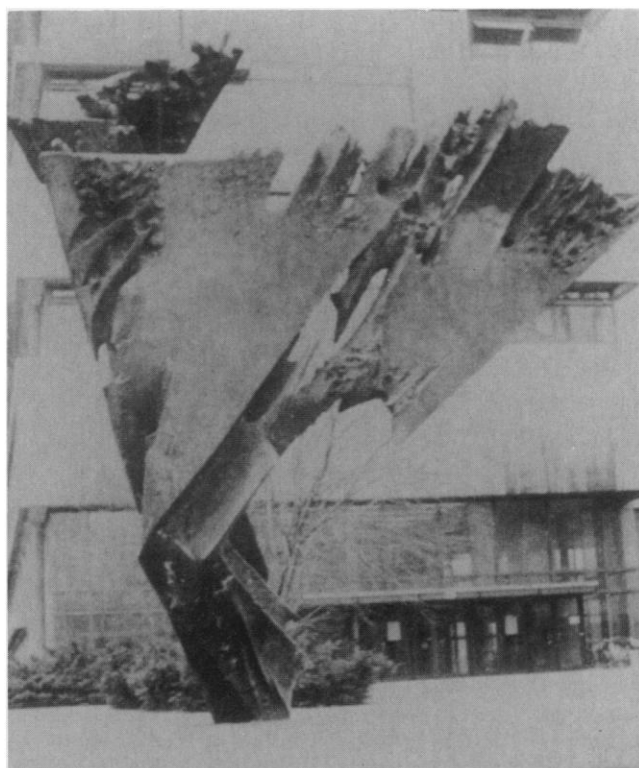


Fig. 12. Bernhard Heiliger, *The Flame*, 1969.

expelled as a typical representative of decadent art on 30th September 1933.' He was a member of the "Sturm-und Aktions" circle. . . RKS, Writings, 3.9.37.

11. 'That the artist, betrayed, disillusioned—, often resigned to the point of cynicism, nearly himself giving up, after a moment of boundless, almost apocalyptic trust — ponders, in the midst of catastrophe, on what is most immediate, most certain and most durable: truth and craft.' Exhibition catalogue, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, Mannheim, 1925, n.p.

12. 'The artist must prove himself before nature. He confronts it with deep respect and his craft consists in nothing else than following the harmonious order and purposive simplicity of the world.'

13. 'Everything which in the town tends towards anarchy, here finds its way back to the ordering of men and the world.' G. Richard Bie, 'Die Sachliche Kreis. Georg Schrimpf', in *Deutsche Malerei der Gegenwart*, Weimar, 1930, p.10.

14. 'I can confirm after the most thorough examination, that Professor Schrimpf is wholly and fully loyal to Adolf Hitler and his Empire.' Zimbal, letters, 29.5.37, HdK-Archive.

15. NS Student leader Schuster, letter to Minister of Science, Art and National Education, 3.11.37, HdK-Archive.

16. 'His art developed in the years after the war under the category of "Degenerate Art". Later he changed his outlook and turned to so-called New Objectivity . . . Bearing in mind his earlier and strongly hostile attitude . . . no guarantees of his political reliability can be accepted.' Report of the Gauleiter office of the NDSAP, 24.11.37, Berlin Document Centre.

17. 'In recent years developments in art have led to chaos . . . The "isms" that have been foisted on German art must be taken care of, everything that encourages subversion must be thrown out, just as the new government has already done in political and economic life.' Willy Maillard, letter to the Minister of Science, Art and National Education, 14.6.33, HdK-Archive.

18. 'The painter of garden summer houses and the literary artist are enjoying great popularity because the first mimics nature and declares that the people understand him, the other paints German

subject matter and declares his art to be "of the people".' Otto Andreas Schreiber, speech, 29.6.33, reprinted in *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Berlin, 10.7.33, HdK-Archive.

19. 'At the time of the severest oppression by the Hi-jeh, a sculptor asked the Me-ti what subjects he could choose so as to remain consistent with truth but still not fall into the hands of the police. Make a pregnant working woman, Me-ti advised him, and have her gaze sorrowfully at her body. Then you have said much.'

Bertolt Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol.12, Frankfurt, 1967, p.553.

20. 'By trade I am a sculptor, a wood carver. Riemenschneider, Veit Stoß, Jorg Ratgeb were my great colleagues before whom I bow in humility. They died on the side of the former revolutionaries (. . .). Artists' works only have universal value, are immortal, if they stood and grew at the centre of social events and conflicts (. . .). Why didn't I lead a retiring life, removed from politics? Because then my art would have had only a small value and would not have been living or immortal. So I am dying earlier than if I had lived the trivial life of many — all too many!' Kurt Schumacher, letter of 22.12.42, cited in Biernat & Krausse, *Die Schulze-Boyssen/Harnack Organisation in Antifaschistischen Kampf*, Berlin (DDR), 1970, p.158.

21. 'Art and science for the benefit of mankind can only grow and develop in freedom. We welcome the Congress for World Peace, the progressive intellectuals from all countries who oppose the war-agitators and the war-psychotics in order to prevent the world from sinking, once again, into bloody barbarism. We wish the Congress the greatest success in its aim to unite peace-loving.'

22. 'I will recall the text of the letter which removed me from my teaching post: "You are not worthy or suitable to be a teacher of the young." You can read the same thing in the *Tagesspiegel* today (. . .). What's going on? I, without asking permission beforehand from the students, as a private person and with a few colleagues, signed a peace resolution (. . .) We sign any peace initiative, from wherever it may come. I am neither a Russian nor an American, I am a German and want peace for our people.' Karl Hofer letter to the students' parliament, 28.4.49, HdK-Archive.